1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namąke*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namaxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namaxinixini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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The Guardian Spirits

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The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[a] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast; and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[a] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'aⁱteᵉ, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

[a] The feast referred to herein the text called Hoᵉdagiⁿnaⁿte Wadeᵉkiⁿnaⁿge or Savior's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to one of informants, for the latter to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

[a] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as these bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, luckyduffy, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in these instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-lady" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity think what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be considered automatic.

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Offering to Big Black Hawk.—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco."

Offering to Disease-giver.—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco."

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

Offering to the Sun.—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

Basic Ritual

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Teiwoit'e'higa,[109] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Teiwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[110] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[109] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[109] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it.

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our

[109] Literal translation, "Kills whistling lodge."

[110] What Teiwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ejinga'ga).

[109] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this cf. the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1913.

[109] That is, become reincarnated.

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]●

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

The Medicine Dance

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*